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Coordinated Meaning Management In The Successful Reconstruction of The New Identity Negotiations of The Anies-Muhaimin Pair In The 2024 General Election In Sidoarjo District

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Abstract: This research focuses on Coordinated Meaning Management (CMM) in successfully reconstructing the Anies-Muhaimin pair's identity negotiations in the 2024 elections in Sidoarjo Regency. The main objective of this research is to explore how the pair's political communication and branding strategies were able to influence and convince voters in Sidoarjo Regency who have a strong culture with NU (Nahdlatul Ulama). The research methodology used primary and secondary data collected through observation, interviews, and documentation based on Creswell's (2007) data collection techniques. Data analysis was conducted using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014) approach which includes data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. The results showed that the communication strategy built by the Anies-Muhaimin pair through cultural approaches, content, speech acts, and interpersonal relationships was able to change the negative stigma against Anies Baswedan. The hierarchy of meaning of CMM theory proved its relevance in the analysis of field strategies to gain Sidoarjo community sympathizers, although the episode variables in this theory did not have a significant impact.

Keyword: CMM (Coordinated Management of Meaning), Identity Negotiation, political branding, Election 2024, Sidoarjo Regency.

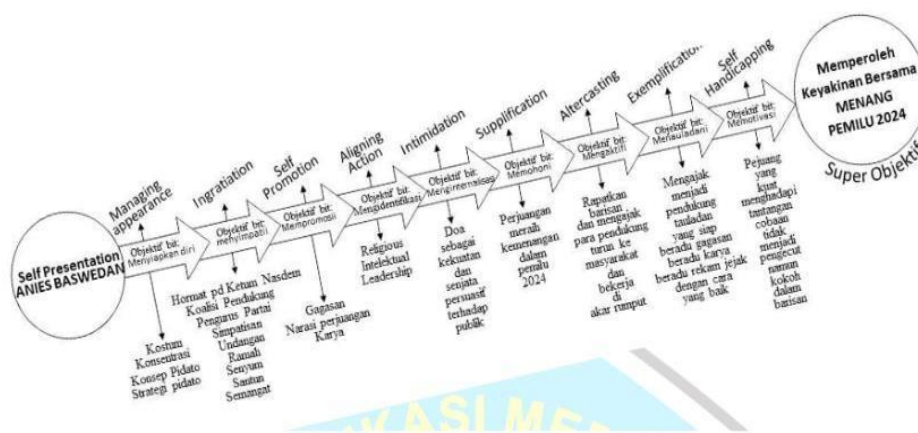
INTRODUCTION

The 2024 election has its color this is because there are 3 pairs of presidential candidates and a coalition of parties carried out and on the other hand each of these presidential and vice presidential candidates has their characteristics in the eyes of the community so that if it is drawn further forward by looking at the results of the exit poll of the 2024 presidential election it has its strategy in branding in the community. The way of persuasion communication carried out by presidential and vice presidential pairs in forming branding and convincing the targeted community constituents to follow and support one of the candidates is the packaging and branding proposed through symbolic messages and others

during the campaign. In the 2024 elections that have been held, there are 3 presidential candidates (KPU RI, 2023). The three pairs of candidates include the presidential candidate number one, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, the two pairs of party candidates carried by the Nasdem Party, PKB Party, and PKS. Then the pair with serial number two is Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming, which is carried by the Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, PAN Party, Democratic Party, and other parties. And the candidates pair with serial number three are Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD, which is carried by the PDIP, PPP, Perindo, and Hanura parties.

Each presidential and vice presidential candidate and the party must have a different marketing strategy, therefore the political negotiation process in the different backgrounds of each pair of presidential and vice presidential candidates is very important so that it is agreed by the party to use what kind of method. The 2024 election, which is a new color in politics, is the pair Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, the pair in the spotlight is pair number one. This pair number 1 can be said to have considerable ideological differences in Islam in Indonesia. These two different ideologies make pair 01 hit by issues related to identity politics. This is because Anis has the ideology of the Islamic right while Muhaimin Iskandar has the ideology of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Therefore, with this issue, a strategy is needed that has been prepared to promote and give a positive image to the candidate. With the differences in these two ideologies, a negotiation is needed.

The following is one example of a political campaign carried out by Anies Baswedan where in the speech "Apel Siaga Perubahan Menjelang Pemilu 2024" in Sudiby's research which states that the impression in Impression Management Communication carried out by Anis through the prefix of a prayer led directly and an indirect indoctrination message "struggling hard in achieving the goal of striving for a fairer country and almighty God grants all these struggles" (Sudiby, 2023). The results of this study also show how the communication style in the campaign through Integration or efforts to attract sympathy and self-promotion is very basic and very important in strengthening community support, following the results of this research Bits arrangement



Bagan 1. Arrangement Bits pada Presentasi Diri Anies dalam Pidato Apel Siaga Perubahan (Sudiby)

Figure 1. Image of Communication Style in Campaigns Through Integration

The data above shows how the negotiation of identity politics in communication built by one of them by Anies Baswedan during the Change Alert Apple campaign with volunteers shows the packaging of communication and identity politics played despite the existence of communication packaged by carrying this identity politics, the main reason for choosing Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar is because of the desire for change, attention to the people, smart, trustworthy. However, the number of "Religious, Rejilius" assessments from

the exit poll results is still quite high, thus illustrating that the existence of religious identity politics is still highlighted to be an attraction in choosing Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. The exit poll results of the political indicators can be seen as follows:



Figure 2. Exit Poll Reasons for Choosing Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates (Anies-Muhaimin)

This exit poll data, states that the identity politics owned by candidate pair 01 is still very strong, so this is a problem in the formation of *political branding* from pair 01. This is because there are different characteristics between presidential and vice presidential candidates in religious ideology. Therefore, it is necessary to negotiate with identity politics to get the meaning of the message in accordance with pair 01. This negotiation is the key to success in reaching an agreement and benefiting both parties from prospective candidates. Negotiation in politics is used as communication in the *packaging of* messages to be conveyed to opponents with credible and necessary content. (Ferdasah & Harmonis, 2024). As stated by Gerry Van Klinken (2007) political negotiations that complement political communication make the message of the political elite in taking the influence of all institutions in mobilizing their influence stronger and making the oppositional dichotomy in distinguishing and attracting sympathetic people to win existing political rivals, of course, in this case, the context of the 2024 presidential election. (Haboddin, 2012). With the existence of identity politics, this is a problem in gaining votes in Sidoarjo Regency whose people are thick with NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) culture. Therefore, researchers want to see how the negotiation process of the two ideological differences owned by pair 01 and bring up a new identity for pair 01 which will generate its meaning that will be analyzed with CMM in delivering its message during the marketing campaign of pair 01.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach and the method used is descriptive. This research focuses on the success of coordinated meaning management in successfully reconstructing the Anies-Muhaimin pair's identity negotiations in the 2024 elections in Sidoarjo Regency. The research location was carried out in Sidoarjo Regency. The types of data used by researchers are primary data and secondary data—the technique of determining research informants based on *purposive sampling*. The data collection techniques used by researchers used data collection techniques from Creswell (2007), namely observation, interviews, and documentation. The data analysis technique used by researchers is based on Miles Huberman and Saldana (2014) involving several steps, namely data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The negotiation process has general stages, such as planning related to goals, then conveying what you want to agree on together, exchanging information, implementing negotiations or bargaining processes, and then reaching mutually beneficial agreements from various parties. The negotiation process in the AMIN pair is very important for winning in Sidoarjo Regency, which has a strong culture with NU. The challenge for the winning team from the political parties supporting pair 01 (AMIN) is the difference in identity politics related to religious ideology between the presidential and vice presidential candidates. Anies Baswedan embraces conservative Islam and Muhaimin Iskandar embraces traditional Islam or NU, by the culture of the Sidoarjo community. This ideological difference is a challenge because it is related to the issue of identity politics. Therefore, the three coalition parties supporting pair 01 negotiated to be accepted by the community with a strong NU culture.

This negotiation process aims to find meaning and coordinate actions in conducting political branding of candidate 01. The negotiation process was carried out because of the differences in religious ideology between Anies Baswedan (Conservative Islam) and Muhaimin Iskandar (NU Traditional Islam) which made political marketing in Sidoarjo Regency, which is strong in NU culture. Muhaimin, while culturally appropriate, was less popular and had a controversial track record, which was not enough to boost votes for candidate 01. To overcome this, the three coalition parties formed a cross-district team with representatives from PKB, PKS, and Nasdem. This team consolidated forums to discuss and equalize the vision and mission, resulting in an agreement to use the tagline "Change". They agreed to divide the political branding tasks according to the basis of each party to convey the vision and mission of pair 01 in line with the coalition's goals.

Therefore, from this negotiation process, the reconstruction of the political identity negotiation of the Anies-Muhaimin pair is covered with another packaging. As well as being packaged by using Profiling Anies and Cak Imin as intellectual figures, and a good track record in government, the idea of change through the vision and mission of the work program offered, such as the tagline "Change". The reconstruction of identity politics negotiations is not only important in winning the Anies Baswedan pair in Sidoarjo but also a key element in a successful political campaign strategy. By understanding and responding appropriately to voters' political identities, campaign teams can build strong support and achieve victory in the 2024 election.

The reconstruction of identity politics negotiations and the Coordinated Management of Meaning (CMM) Theory have a close relationship in the context of efforts to win the presidential candidate pair Anies Baswedan during the running process in the 2024 election contestation yesterday as well as Political Identity Formation where CMM Theory emphasizes that individual and group identities are formed through social interaction and communication. In the political context, voters form their political identity through a process of interaction with political messages conveyed by candidates and other political groups. In this CMM analysis using the hierarchical meaning of West, R., and Turner (2010) which has 6 indicators called the inverted pyramid, the analysis is as follows:

1. Cultural Patterns

Cultural or cultural patterns of Nahdlatul Ulama that are very thick and rooted in the Sidoarjo community are a challenge in itself to then present the profiling of presidential and vice presidential candidate Anies Baswedan, especially in the acceptance of the Nahdlatul Ulama community. The cultural patterns of Nahdlatul Ulama if clashed with Anies' figure, which many still cannot accept so the culture of figures born from NU and PKB is then highlighted by the scholars as the best cadre currently owned, and has an impact on the NU community policy policies. This is also in line with how institutionally the PKB party also uses a cultural approach through tahlilan forums, majlis forums, and

cultural ways through cangkrukan and others. This is how the cultural position is fused into clear integrated communication or coordinated management.

2. Autobiography

Seeing the context of the Sidoarjo area, which has high organizational cultural roots, makes it quite a challenge for the team or field to influence constituent communication as sympathizers of voters 01, namely Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. As with pair 01, of course, the autobiographical profiling that is owned will be used as a branding image of both. For example, Anies Baswedan has an autobiography known for his academic achievements including his role in education, so his political branding focuses more on his contribution to education and also emphasizes that Anies Baswedan is a high intellectual. In addition, it also emphasizes the experience of his political career, which is the former Governor of Jakarta and has been the minister of education and culture. Meanwhile, Muhaimin Iskandar's autobiography has a strong relationship with NU, which is the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, so that in the branding strategy used, namely its cultural and religious roots by using the support of religious figures and also highlighting his experience in a career in government so that he is known for his leadership role. However, the autobiography of the 01 pair has less impact because it only leads to young people.

3. Relationship or Contract

In building this trust, Pair 01 formed a relationship with the board of the cottage, the kiyai bu nyai, and gus and ning in Sidoarjo Regency. This is done because the Regency community still holds firmly to the NU cultural pattern, so that by making relationships or approaches to the boarding school administrators, kiyai and bu nyai, as well as gus and ning of Sidoarjo Regency can help in political branding or delivering messages from pair 01. In addition, in building trust, this can be seen through pair 01 conducting debates on presidential and vice presidential candidates who build trust and credibility by conveying clear and concrete commitments on important issues such as education, economy, and infrastructure. Pair 01 also conveyed relevant track records and past achievements that helped strengthen the credibility of Pair 01. In this debate, pair 01 also carried out a communication strategy by delivering a clear and interesting vision and mission related to "Change". Pair 01 also interacted two-way with voters through discussion forums, question and answer sessions, and social media, such as "Debate Anies" and "Slepet Imin," which displayed intellect and listened to the aspirations of the Community.

4. Episode

In the theory of coordinated management there is a part that discusses episodes with the purpose of explanation is that the importance of context descriptions that are poured directly through movements such as messages during political campaigns. The message that is conveyed is in line with the person who then represents himself as well as Anies provides the most important part of the episode which is successful in attracting public support as a personal presidential candidate who is highly intellectual and authoritative and cares about his people, this is evidenced by the period or episode of Anies' urging in Surabaya and almost most rational voters in Sidoarjo chose Anies in the 2024 presidential election because of the communication delivery practiced in Anies' urging through answers given directly.

5. Speech Actions

The delivery and form of interpersonal communication carried out by the Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar pairs in political movements and campaigns in various ways, for example through live tiktok conducted by Anis, is very decisive in delivering messages widely and helping to increase the sympathy of constituents. The description of a person or figure, especially in a political context, is very much seen from the various

steps taken by the way he communicates, talks to citizens, and makes promises or insults, which have an impact on the candidate himself. The level of speech acts does not only provide a treat for the communication approach taken but also the community's response to the meaning of speech acts carried out by the two pairs of Anis and Muhaimin Iskandar. Groups or individuals from the journey of the presidential and vice presidential debates, then political campaigns, political safaris, and ideas given in the *desak anies* or *slepet cak imin* programs are able to encourage widespread public attention responses, this is evident in public conversations and trending on social media for young people aged 20 years and over.

6. Contents

This hierarchy of content meaning refers to the words or expressions that are interpreted in the context of the conversation. In negotiations, understanding the meaning of content is very important, because the choice of words chosen and the delivery of messages will influence the interpretation and reaction of the other party. The choice of words taken by the coalition parties such as "Change", "Intellectual", "NU" and "Experienced" has a meaning that contains specifics to explain pair 01. The use of these terms is used to target different audiences, for example during promotions related to the promotion of "intellectual" and "experienced" brought by pair 01 will be promoted among minority groups in the NU cultural pattern in Sidoarjo Regency. While the use of the word "NU" will be used to promote among the majority group which is a cultural pattern in Sidoarjo Regency by carrying the name Muhaimin Iskandar who is from among the *santri* so that it is thick with NU culture.

The hierarchy of meaning of CMM theory is what shows related strategies in the field by the success team together with the party coalition in gaining community sympathizers with the action carried out so that the sociocultural society of Sidoarjo is communicated through segmentation interpretation so that coordinate management can provide information transactions and interpersonal communication that can be captured and understood by the wider community in several points of Sidoarjo area, although there are indicators of the hierarchy of meaning such as episodes that can not be used as interpersonal communication to constituents. This is because constituents are more likely to see the direction of the approach taken directly by the candidate or campaign team, through various means through media platforms or direct campaign movements so the episode variable in CMN theory is not able to have a significant impact

CONCLUSION

Based on the presentation and discussion related to the reconstruction of political negotiations of pair 01 Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar in Sidoarjo, this study can be concluded that the communication model built and formed by pair 01 through branding and adjusting the cultural segmentation of Sidoarjo society has success in packaging communication by personal Anis Baswedan and Muhaimin and campaign teams from coalition parties such as PKB, The analysis of CMM theory or coordinated meaning management proves that interpersonal communication towards cultural approaches, content, speech acts, as well as political relations and interpersonal closeness can be helped in changing the negative stigma that previously occurred in the figure of Anies Baswedan who was famous for his strong religious identity politics or right Islam.

However, looking at the results of the analysis with CMM theory in the chapter shows that the hierarchy of meaning of CMM theory proposed by West, R. and Turner (2010) is relevant as a research analysis knife with researcher research related to the Reconstruction of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) Identity Political Negotiations in Political Branding for the 2024 Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections in Sidoarjo Regency, East

Java. The hierarchy of meaning of the CMM theory is what shows related strategies in the field by the success team with the party coalition in getting community sympathizers with the actions carried out so that the sociocultural society of Sidoarjo is communicated through segment interpretation so that this coordinate management can provide information transactions and interpersonal communication that can be captured and understood by the wider community at several points in the Sidoarjo area, although indicators from the hierarchy of meaning such as episodes that cannot be used as interpersonal communication to constituents. This is because constituents are more likely to see the direction of the approach taken directly by the candidate or campaign team, through various means through media platforms or direct campaign movements so the episode variable in CMN theory is not able to have a significant impact.

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